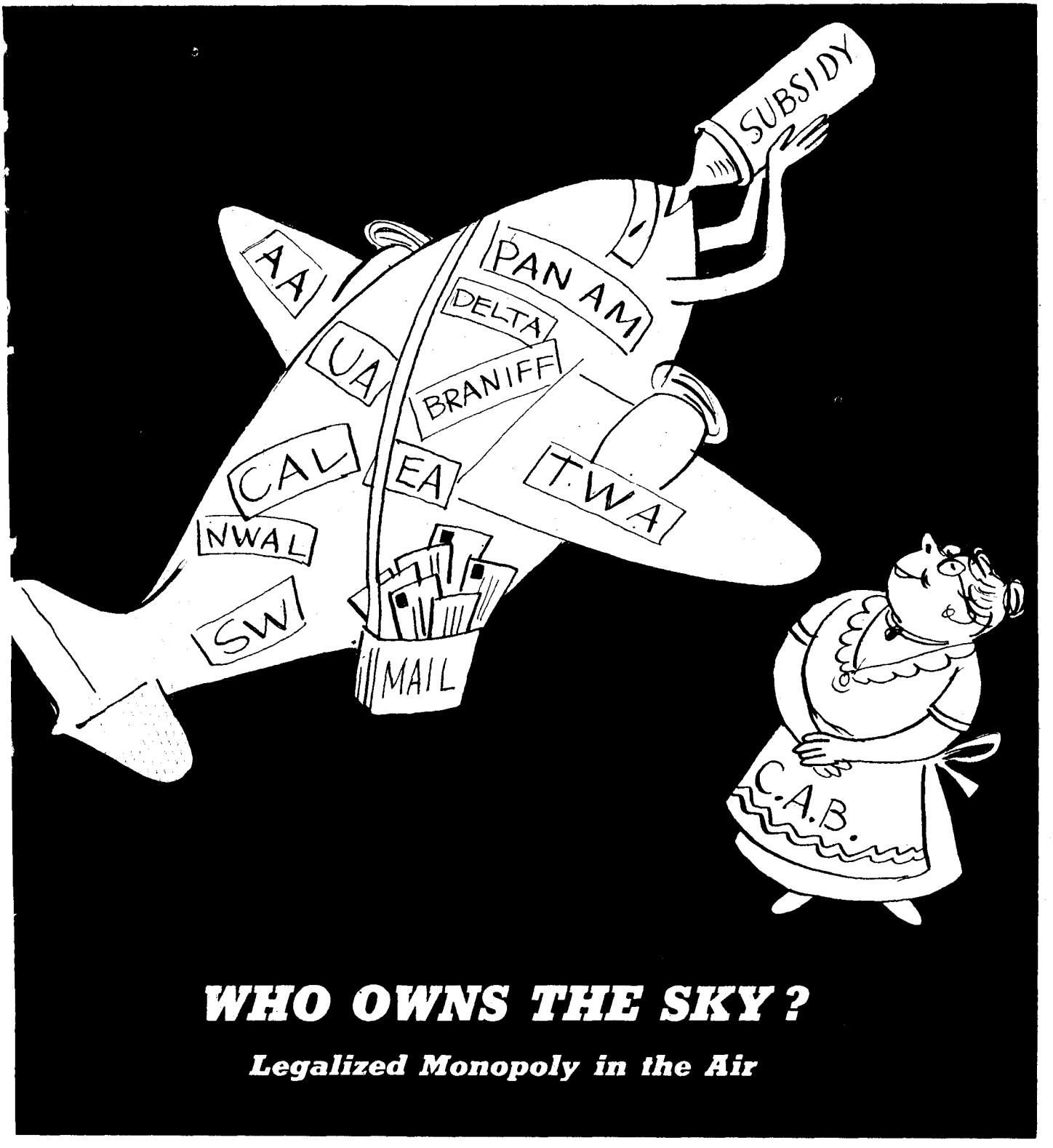
20c JUNE 11, 1951

New Republic



WHO OWNS THE SKY?

Legalized Monopoly in the Air

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CORRESPONDENCE

Price Control

SIR: Louis Walinsky's review of price control (*NR*, May 28) correctly diagnoses the difficulties. Inflation has to be fought vigorously on all fronts. You can't be soft with agriculture, industry and labor and hold a price line, nor can you follow a cheap-money policy, with the Federal Reserve Banks buying additional government bonds each month, and expect to overcome an inflationary gap. Unfortunately, the political pulling and hauling and the lack of strong political leadership seem likely to mitigate against taking advantage of the lessons that Mr. Walinsky so well elaborates.

RICHARD A. LESTER
Professor of Economics
Princeton University

Politics vs. Education

SIR: Several months ago in Minneapolis, a parents' council was formed. This council's attack on the common-learning program was not recognized at first as the same kind of propaganda as that which was distributed in Pasadena prior to that city's "tax election" by Allen Zoll's National Council for American Education. The "common-learnings" program is a plan to combine several subjects, such as English, spelling, history and current events in a single assignment; an adaptation of the John Dewey project method. Since over 70 percent of Minneapolis public school children do not continue their education beyond high school, the common-learnings program has merit in preparing children for such citizenship duties as co-operation and the elimination of discrimination and bias.

In January, 1951, a prolonged teachers' and janitors' strike in Minneapolis undoubtedly greatly influenced the Minnesota legislature in the passage of a bill prohibiting all strikes by public employees. Fortunately, for many years, Minneapolis has had an active Citizens' Committee on Public Education, affiliated with the National Commission for the Public Schools. The leaders of this local citizens' committee arranged a series of conferences with representatives of labor in an attempt to form a slate of candidates for the four vacancies on the school board, which would be acceptable to organized labor and to the rest of the community. When these conferences failed and labor decided to run its own slate of candidates in the municipal primary election on May 14, the interested citizens had no choice other than to run another slate. The choice of these four candidates for the citizens' slate was made by a citywide committee of 92 individuals representing all shades of opinion. The joint chairmanship of the committee was shared by a greatly revered retired judge of the Juvenile Court and the head of the League of Women Voters.

Besides the labor slate, known as "Better Schools," and the citizens' slate, 11 other candidates filed. In the primary election, the close scores of the labor candidate and the citizens' slate candidates for the short-term position on the school board required a recount in which the labor candidate won.

On June 11, the final municipal election will determine whether the three long-term positions on the board will be filled by labor candidates or by citizens' slate candidates, and whether the short-term position will be filled by a labor candidate or by one favored by the parents' council. Other cities may well be interested in the outcome, since David Hulburd in his new book, *This Happened in Pasadena*, mentioned Minneapolis as a city to take warning from the Pasadena experience.

(MRS.) MILDRED D. MUDGETT
Minneapolis, Minn.

The Communists' Stand

SIR: The metropolitan press has drawn a curtain of silence around the travesty of justice being perpetrated in the first hearings to be held under the McCarran law. *New Republic* readers are entitled to at least a peek at what is going on. But, unfortunately, A. J. Heidenheimer's piece in the May 14 issue only adds misinformation to ignorance.

Mr. Heidenheimer notes that "in their quiet way" the proceedings before a panel of the Subversive Activities Control Board are determining some vital issues. But in his own quiet way he helps foster the illusion that the unconstitutional goal of outlawing an American political party is being achieved by eminently "fair" means.

Mr. Heidenheimer astutely observes that "A dominant note of the proceedings so far is that the government appears to be seeking a favorable verdict as cheaply as possible." But he doesn't explain that this bargain-counter verdict was *built into the McCarran law itself*, and so can be had without the trouble and expense of offering real evidence.

Apparently accepting the built-in verdict himself, Mr. Heidenheimer is not finicky about the Justice Department's procedural short-cuts. He finds Panel Chairman Charles LaFollette "fair in listening to procedural and substantive statements from both sides." But, while admitting that the panel's supposed attempts at fairness are "hampered" by a number of factors, he fails to inform your readers how and why it has constantly ruled against the Communist Party.

Among many such rulings, two of major importance serve to illustrate why the government can feel confident of getting a verdict at bargain rates. . . .

Mr. Heidenheimer admits that the procedures employed in the current hearings are "crucially important, for dependent on the procedure and decision applied to the Party are the fate of thousands of groups and individuals which the Attorney General must then cite to the board as part of the 'Communist front.'"

But he failed to tell your readers that these procedures, as well as the decision, are being dictated by Sen. Pat McCarran. This was already clear when his article was written. First, because the Act itself contains the prefabricated verdict. Second, because the McCarran committee holds the gun for non-confirmation at the heads of the panel and board members. . . .

Since the appearance of the Heidenheimer whitewash piece, this scandal has become even more obvious and brazen. For the witness Gitlow, under cross-examination by Chairman LaFollette himself, coolly admitted that he has been spending his evenings with McCarran's chief investigator, Benjamin Mandel, reporting at the end of each day on the "conduct" of the panel members.

These rigged hearings are certainly not, as Mr. Heidenheimer asserts, "The Communists' Last Stand," but they may well be the last stand for the Bill of Rights.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
National Committee Member,
Communist Party, USA
New York City

SIR: One rule of thumb which the analytic person might accept in weighing controversial political developments these days is that if Senator McCarran says something is white, and the Communist Party says it's black, he can be pretty sure it's grey. The Subversive Activities Board hearings are an explosive case in point. Understandably the Communists have more than a dialectical interest in the issue. They are fighting for their lives so one can hardly condemn them for using any weapons at their disposal.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

A LOT OF VOLUNTEER presidents are accepting Secretary Acheson's resignation these days. His fate probably depends on the defense he makes before the Senate committee investigating MacArthur's dismissal. Acheson is at his best in matching wits in this kind of session. Acheson's weakness is that he has a contempt for many in Congress and that, try as he can, he can't conceal it. As to the matter of his resignation there is a curious paradox involved. Some of the most high-minded people we know, who deplore what they call the "moral deterioration" under the Truman Administration, now advocate Acheson's discharge on the ground that he is a political liability, a battle casualty. "He's done a fine job," they admit, "but he just ought to be thrown to the wolves." They earnestly advocate opportunism. Put this way, the question of retaining Acheson becomes a moral issue. Oddly enough, that is the way Truman looks at it. He stubbornly insists that it would shock national decency to discharge a good man because he has been made a scapegoat. Probably few of those who deplore the so-called "moral laxity of Washington" will understand this warped approach.

What is meant by a "tired" Administration? Democrats have won five straight Presidential elections and, the way the Republicans act, may win a sixth. But the Administration has run out of ideas. Mike DiSalle is about the only fresh, vigorous liberal personality brought here in a year. The Truman Federal Power Commission is falling apart. Truman named his supporter Mon Wallgren, to be FPC chairman (fortunately he resigned); he helped steer it into the hands of the gas and electric interests it is supposed to regulate. Take the Supreme Court: the Chief Justice and Associate Justices Tom Clark, Sherman Minton and Harold Burton are Truman appointees, and its record becomes increasingly less progressive. Take a third instance: Cordell Hull created as his monument the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act to lower world tariffs. Over regular Republican opposition, the Act has been extended every three years or so since 1934, only once with the crippling "peril points" amendment written in and this thrown out shortly afterward when Democrats resumed control. Now, almost unnoticed, the Administration yields to the inclusion of this and other amendments without even a fight. The amendments destroy most of the hope of executive tariff cuts and restore the whole log-rolling Congressional veto. These are examples of what is meant by an Administration that is well-meaning enough—just "tired."

Young Lt. W. H. Evans had been reading some of America's most widely circulated newspapers and concluded that we have a "pro-Soviet State Department," and a "pro-Red Administration." So he got in touch with the wealthy China lobby which has been feeding anti-Acheson smears to Joe McCarthy for years and which wants to reconquer China with the Chiang Kai-shek Government-in-exile. He began airing his views. One letter, after his discharge, was published in the Chicago *Tribune*, attacking most of Washington as pro-Communist. It seemed a relatively moderate comment by contrast with normal *Tribune* editorials. Young Evans was fired in an incident that appeared like an obscene parody of the MacArthur hearings. What had he done that MacArthur hadn't done? Well, he had gone a bit farther. Was he treasonable? Not a bit—just echoing the comments printed every day in some of our biggest organs of opinion.

Senator McCarran (D, Nev.) is always well worth observation. He treats

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bureaucrats with the contempt they deserve, and they bow before him, knowing his double power as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and chairman of the State Department Appropriations subcommittee. Last week, McCarran put in a lordly summons to a group from the State Department, the Export-Import Bank and the Economic Co-operation Administration. McCarran has an affinity that is almost mystical for the Franco-Spanish dictatorship. When the bureaucrats arrived, hat in hand, McCarran asked why the $62.5 million loan to Spain which he sponsored as an amendment last year was being delayed? There was one oddity in the McCarran conference. Alert Ferdinand Kuhn of the Washington *Post* disclosed it. McCarran had thoughtfully included in his invitation Spanish Ambassador de Lequerica. In the presence of the Spanish diplomat, McCarran privately quizzed the uncomfortable civil servants. Poor chaps, they supposed they were paid their meager salaries to represent their own country. In fairness to the Spanish envoy, he apparently did not know what McCarran was up to when he accepted the invitation and asked no questions himself. So far as anybody knows this is the first incident of its kind in American history. Will anything be done about it? No.

Notes: It took four months to get the grain-for-India bill through Congress to meet the famine "emergency"; it is understood that a number of people have died in the interim. . . . Kicked off by Speaker Sam Rayburn, a new attempt to turn off-shore oil over to the states has begun in Congress; this oil belongs to you and me and the Federal Government. According to a Supreme Court decision, the big oil companies want to take it over through the states. . . . General MacArthur takes the road again this month with four appearances in Texas where he may make his reply to the unanimous verdict against his proposed Korean policy by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. . . . The GOP is backing away from defending MacArthur to the more congenial task of kicking Acheson. . . .

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

Miss Flynn has a perfect right to attempt to discredit anyone who attempts to find some balanced approach between the viewpoints of McCarran and the Communist Party. It is obviously in the Party's interest to foster the myth of such a simple dichotomy.

Miss Flynn's letter hinges more on slogans than on facts, and attempts to substitute labels for complicated political phenomena. She claims I failed to mention Senator McCarran's attempted intimidation of the board. In fact I did mention it, and the scheme was denounced in the *New Republic* in both prior and subsequent issues. She accuses me of failing to say that the McCarran law includes a "built-in verdict" on the Communist Party. In fact one-third of the article discussed just that dangerous characteristic.

An incident which occurred in the hearings since my article appeared, and also subsequent to Miss Flynn's letter, clearly marks the differences between our two viewpoints. Some crucial weaknesses in the proceedings were dramatically exposed by one of the participants—Chairman Charles LaFollette himself—who publicly criticized one of his fellow board members, Peter Campbell Brown, and the government prosecutors for abusing their offices. To the Communists' temporary glee, one of the variable factors in what they had previously pictured as a monolithic conspiracy had popped out of frame. What I attempted to do was to block out the fragments which constitute the puzzle—the clumsy, dangerous Congressional directive, the board struggling to create some standards of moral and legal order, the inept government prosecution, the wily, alert Communist lawyers.

What Miss Flynn attempts to do is to say it's "the people" against Fascism, it's the Bill of Rights against McCarran. The hearings are "rigged." The panel "constantly" rules against the Party. She sneers when I call LaFollette "fair." My piece is a "whitewash."

Miss Flynn should not be expected to sympathize with the view that the Communist Party is a hostile instrument working to overthrow our society. Nor should Senator McCarran be expected to appreciate that his dragnet hunt for "subversives" may defeat its supposed ends and aid totalitarianism on both Left and Right. For those who follow neither "line," the only way to fight for the preservation of democracy is to know what is going on, who is doing it, and then make up their own minds.

ARNOLD J. HEIDENHEIMER

Washington, D. C.

For a Labor Party

SIR: The *New Republic* exposures of corruption in Washington and big-business control of the mobilization program show that the Fair Deal has become one, big crooked deal.

A square deal, a new deal and a fair deal have been promised by the Republican and Democratic Parties. But the American people would get the best deal—an honest deal—from an independent labor party. Such a party would mobilize all hand and brain workers for moral government and social progress.

A resolution introduced at the recent convention of the CIO auto workers demanded a new labor party and pointed out that "Truman has ceased giving even lip-service to social legislation. The parties of big business, the Democratic and Republican Parties, exposed by the Kefauver committee as hopelessly corrupt machines, must make way for the new first party of the common people, a democratic party of liberals—farmer and labor."

The resolution called for "a party which opposes reaction in every and all forms, whether it threatens from the economic monopoly of Wall Street and big business, the dictatorship of Nazism and Fascism, or the totalitarianism of Soviet Russia and its Communist Parties in this and every other country."

Although this resolution was not adopted, it won widespread support. And the union did adopt a resolution demanding a "new political realignment."

Members of labor unions and other organizations should urge their groups to work for the formation of an independent labor party—which would give Americans a *real* fair deal—the best deal possible, and crush all political corruption.

New York City JOHN LOEB

Paging the Girl Bandit

SIR: I have been trying to locate a copy of the old-time dime novel titled, *Automobile Lillian, the Daring Girl Bandit of Arizona*, which was published by the now-folded Royal Publishing Company of South Norwalk, Conn., about 1908, and thus far I have exhausted all the usual book sources with no success.

However, it did occur to me that perhaps some of your readers might be able to offer a clue that could lead to this most exclusive of all source books on our American cowgirl and her apparel, which we have come to recognize as standard Western female attire today. At least it is worth a try. My address is 415 North Beverly Drive.

Beverly Hills, Calif. CHET L. SWITAL

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VOLUME 124, NUMBER 24, ISSUE 1906, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 11, 1951

New Republic

THE END OF PRICE CONTROL?

IN THREE WEEKS time, the Defense Production Act, which authorizes the President to order emergency production and price controls, will expire. Extension of this crucial Act has not begun to be discussed on the floor of either house of Congress.

If the decision on whether to end or extend and tighten controls is determined by the conflicting lobbies at work in Washington and in the Congressional districts of the country, controls are surely doomed. A super-lobby, with the greatest potential political force to hit Washington in many years, has been formed to wipe out *all* economic controls on termination of the present Production Act on June 30. Almost no support for continuing even the feeble brand of controls now in operation is being heard from average citizens. Letters to Congress demanding real controls over the cost of living are comparative rarities even as the legislative deadline approaches.

Organized consumers and labor, as well as other groups which understand the desperate need for much stronger controls with which to face probably mounting inflation next fall, are perhaps under-estimating the political power of those who have ganged together to murder the Production Act. It is easy to laugh at the almost comically greedy "beef boys" who are being used as the fronts for the anti-price control bloc. But behind the loud-talking cattlemen, in quiet but effective array stand the experienced American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Cotton Council.

The National Association of Manufacturers and the US Chamber of Commerce have made it clear that they, along with these three groups, favor the removal of all controls now. But the two senior bodies, rich and influential as they are, cannot pack the political wallop needed to swing Congress their way. City Congressmen, even Republican ones indebted to NAM and C of C contributors, will think twice before enraging city consumers with a vote against controlling the cost of living. But because Congress remains so unrepresentative of the actual composition of the US, the combination of the beef, cotton and well-to-do farmer lobbies, may, it is thought, be able to turn the trick.

The public-relations director of the National Cotton Council explained the basic strategy to a Farm Bureau convention last winter. The farmers are the only group in America, the Cotton Council spokesman declared, who can win and mould public opinion to the extent necessary to "reverse the trend toward socialism." The geographical distribution of farms, he pointed out, is such that 73 percent of the Senate and 60 percent of the House are still elected by constituencies which are basically rural.

The plan of those who are out to kill price control is to win over this 73 percent of the Senate and 60 percent of the House by appealing to the narrow, selfish interests of their individual districts. The Representatives and Senators from the nine great cotton-producing states of the South and Southwest are being told that the only sure way to get free of price controls on cotton is to line up with the representatives of the Great Plains cattle-producing states and the Middle Western states where the Farm Bureau flourishes to kill off the whole controls system. Friends of the cattlemen and the Farm Bureau in Congress are being urged to take a similarly warm view of cotton-states' problems. This three-way economic log-rolling is the pattern evolving as Congress moves toward a decision on how many and what kind of inflation controls we are to have after this month.

Spokesmen for retention and improvement of the present controls system have also been appearing at the Congressional hearings on extending the Defense Production Act. They have been struck by the fact that Democratic members of the committees have usually been absent; the questioning has been largely hostile. Americans for Democratic Action performed an important service in calling together 35 national organizations who support emergency controls against inflation to plan a counter-strategy. The leaders of those groups are now urging all their members to speak up for a system of holding down prices and building up production.

If we are not to be left totally unprotected when inflation begins to swell up again next October and November, as most economists predict it will, Congress must extend the Defense Production Act for another two years, to June 30, 1953, and strengthen the Act under which the controls system is now operating in a number of significant ways. Congress should:

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1. Include in the new authorization a specific statement that it is the desire and intention of Congress that the principles of equality and sacrifice and of full participation by all groups be followed at every level in the defense program.

2. Authorize the use of subsidies to prevent farm prices from rising further and still assure farmers a fair income.

3. Authorize differential subsidies to high-cost producers of scarce materials in order to increase production without raising current prices for those materials.

4. Eliminate the compulsory tie-in between price and wage controls.

5. Authorize tight controls on residential and commercial rents wherever necessary and impose credit controls on existing houses.

6. Raise the margin requirements to regulate speculation on the commodity exchanges.

7. Grant authority to prevent concealed price increases by prohibiting manufacturers from deteriorating the quality of their products or discontinuing low-priced lines.

8. Provide more effective enforcement measures and severer penalties for violators of the law.

9. Authorize the government to build and operate defense plants where necessary to increase the national capacity to produce vital goods.

Price Stabilizer Michael DiSalle and his staff are working hard during the lull in price rises we are currently enjoying to ready their organization against the new storm of inflation they believe is ahead. Regardless of how they trim and polish their present craft, however, there is little likelihood that it can carry us through a really severe test. The present control law is full of weak spots through which inflation can easily burst when the pressure becomes really great. Those weak spots must be patched up tightly now if even the present degree of stabilization is to be maintained next fall and winter. The changes in the present law recommended above are not perfecting amendments; they are basic life-saving precautions which any reasonable Congress would consider as apart from partisan politics.

But the 82nd Congress has done nothing to establish itself as "reasonable." The Democrats, drawn together temporarily by the assault of MacArthur and the Republicans, seem sure to split up again along producer-consumer lines on the issue of controls. There is general agreement that if, as is almost certain, Congress has not acted on renewal of the Defense Production Act by June 30, an extension of 30 to 90 days will be voted as an interim measure. The Administration will favor limiting the temporary extension to 30 days on the ground that putting the deadline for action any farther away will make longer extension more unlikely. The Republicans generally favor a 90-day extension, gambling on the chance that by fall the war in Korea will be over and there will be no public support for continuing controls.

Every effort should be made to force action now on a new controls law and on the necessary tax measures that must accompany it to be effective. The President has repeated this so often that not even members of his press conferences pay much attention when he says it again. This Congress will not do what it should do of its own volition without tremendous public pressure. No such pressure is being applied in Washington today. Unless public interest in holding down inflation is communicated loudly enough for Congress to hear it in the next month, the current price slashes at Macy's and Gimbel's may be as close to real bargains as the public will come for a long time.

THE WEEK

LIBERALS SHOW LIFE

NEW YORK CITY (NR corresp.)

The American Veterans Committee found its old-time enthusiasm and determination during the AVC's fifth national convention last week. The delegates spent a whole day in workshop sessions devoted to community action in the fields of civil rights, civil defense and veterans welfare. They listened for one afternoon to panels of experts advising them on platforms. They cheered the speeches of Sen. Brien McMahon, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Rep. Jacob Javits; applauded wildly the admission to AVC membership of their first Korean veteran—the famous new Air Force "ace" Capt. James Jabara—and staged a full-scale demonstration with banners and placards to draft for a second term the National Chairman Michael Straight.

By constitutional amendment the delegates opened the AVC to men now in service, and set out at once on a full-scale program to recruit the new soldiers and veterans. Not since the early days of the AVC, in Des Moines in 1946, when all liberal hopes ran high has the organization been so confident of its future role.

Five years ago, after a vain effort to infiltrate the Legion, the Communist Party threw its entire membership of veterans into an effort to capture the AVC. Slowly and painfully non-Communist members counter-organized and fought back. For the first time in the history of the American liberal movement, the Communists were routed; when they cried quits in 1948, the AVC was ex-

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hausted, divided, and deeply in debt. Its post-operative trauma, it now appears was quite trivial. There are only two fatal maladies that can destroy an honest progressive organization, and the AVC is not bothered by these afflictions—heart trouble and hardening of the arteries.

The positions adopted by AVC at this convention concerning our foreign policy included a resolution on Korea, urging that the people of Korea receive "unstinting aid necessary to put their stricken country back on its feet." It further provided that until the "Communist Chinese Government has ceased to wage war upon the forces of the United Nations in Korea and has indicated its clear intention to become a peaceful nation, we cannot recognize it or support its seating in the United Nations." Turning its attention to the Middle East, the AVC supported "the prerogative of the Iranian Government to nationalize the Anglo-Iranian oil company." General MacArthur's Far Eastern policy was condemned "as threatening ultimate defeat in the long-range struggle against world Communism."

Many outstanding leaders of the AVC who have served on the National Planning Committee during the formative period of that organization were returned to office by the delegates. Michael Straight, editor of the *New Republic*, was unanimously re-elected National Chairman. Curtis Campaigne Jr. of Montclair, New Jersey, who planned and directed the Montclair Civil Rights audit, and who has served on the National Board of the AVC for three years, was elected National Vice Chairman. Prominent old-time members of the AVC elected to the National Planning Committee include Robert Nathan, Andrew Rice, secretary of the Far Eastern Commission of ADA; William R. Ming, member of the National Legal Committee of the NAACP; Lester Persells of Atlanta, Georgia, a public-housing official; Endicott Peabody, former All-American guard and Price Stabilization official; Arthur Buck of the Wyoming State Federation of Teachers; Joseph Clorety Jr., government economist; Martin Larner, Indianapolis businessman; Prof. Joseph McLean of Princeton, New Jersey, a director of the OPS in New Jersey; Phil Dreyer, former state legislator in Oregon and Ann Ewing, a former Wave.

Typical of the newly elected members of the National Planning Committee are John Ellis, leader of the liberal Republican element in New York State and Arnold Fein, special counsel to the Kefauver committee in New York.

RULING THE BANKS

After a year's reliance on the uncertain mechanisms of "voluntary" credit control, the Administration is finally screwing up its courage to ask Congress for direct powers with which to check bankers' over-extension of loans. The economic "big four"—Mobilization Director Charles E. Wilson, Economic Council Chairman Leon Keyserling, Federal Reserve Chairman William Martin Jr. and Treasury Secretary John Snyder—have recommended to the President that the powers should be for emergency use only, but that will not lessen their potential effect on the hitherto dizzy loan market.

Reviewing developments since the Treasury and the FRB reached agreement on a joint policy in March, the committee of four expressed its satisfaction with the shrinkage in the inflationary credit pool but admitted that a "stronger policy of credit restraint could have made it more difficult" for the situation to get out of hand in the first place. It called the present lessening of credit demand "temporary" and warned that the "slightest darkening of international relations may set in motion another wave of buying."

To deal effectively with the inflationary problem caused by such a sudden shift in the supply-blamed balance, the committee is readying legislation which will increase the FRB's maximum reserve requirements. The FRB's reserve rates are now almost at their legal limit. The President's advisers proposed either or both a simple increase in the reserve maximum (which is now 25 percent for central banks) or adoption of a method by which banks would hold additional amounts of government securi-obligations. Their proposals are expected to set off a storm of protest from the bankers who want to rely on "voluntary co-operation." But the report makes clear that the President already has powers, drawn from the 1917 Trading with the Enemy Act, to set an absolute limit on credit issuance. This law was utilized by President Roosevelt in the early days of World War II as a legal basis for consumer controls. It can be the statutory basis for a possible emergency Presidential order prohibiting bankers from lending beyond a certain point.

While the report's strong tone on credit controls is a welcome change from the compromising manner in which this problem has been approached in the past, the "big four" have unfortunately remained silent on the related question of government debt management policy. Apparently they have been unable to resolve Uncle Sam's conflicting interests on the one hand in a tight credit structure and a credit market which will buy his securities on the other. The reconciliation between the Treasury and the FRB will continue to be makeshift until a more fully-developed policy is formulated. Continuing study of the defense economy's behavior may perhaps lead to the needed, fundamental blueprint.

TITO SOFTENS UP

Slowly but markedly, the hard core of Yugoslav totalitarianism is leavening into a form closer to the Western democratic blueprint. While the regime's major political props continue to mark it as a police state which brooks no serious dissension, a number of recent reforms indicate that Tito is responding to Western hints and domestic dissatisfaction by modifying some autocratic controls. Evaluated as a whole, the new policy appears to be leading away from some of the harsher Marxist maxims.

Most noteworthy among recent Yugoslav reforms is in the judicial processes. The new code allows the defendant prerogatives unprecedented in Communist countries. This has been brought out in the current trial of four Yugoslavs accused of spying for the Czech

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intelligence service. Their lawyers are allowed to question the basic principles of the prosecution's case, and to attack its argument by common sense and sociological methods which have hitherto been strictly taboo in Communist courts.

A lightening of the government's heavy hand is also evident in changes of policy toward the church and foreigners. Pressures to discourage attendance at religious services have been considerably reduced, and foreign press and diplomatic personnel now find it much easier to meet and talk with Yugoslavs outside of official life. The government press has also been urging grass-roots criticisms and appears to be ready to decentralize many of its programs.

The areas to watch for hints on the development of this "re-examination" policy is agriculture. After pressing a collectivization drive which made Yugoslavia the most heavily collectivized country in Eastern Europe, Tito lately has lessened pressure toward the formation of new collectives. Controls over the distribution of farm produce have been cut, with an increased percentage now being sold through the free market. These have been concessions to make an unpopular program palatable. Whether such Fabian tactics have real impetus will be shown when some of the peasants' three-year collectivization agreements come up for renewal in the near future.

WANTED: DOCTORS

While the American Medical Association continues to fight federal aid to medical education on the grounds that there is no shortage of doctors, its private organ, the *Journal* of the AMA, carries an increasing number of "physicians wanted" advertisements. In the current issue (May 19), the *Journal* lists 183 positions for which doctors are urgently needed in all parts of the country. Typical ads:

Wanted—Physicians for General Practice; small town, central Illinois; no competition in town. . . .

Analyst-Director — Therapy Program; 75-bed private psychiatric hospital; Middle West; salary and perquisites will exceed net income from private practice gross of $30,000. . . .

Doctor — Needed in California town with trading population 8,000; only two doctors in town; an excellent chance to build lucrative practice; excellent location available. . . .

General Practitioner—To assist or assume practice in small community; grossed $31,000, 1950, without surgery; low overhead; open hospitals, good roads; 20 miles from Lansing, Michigan. . . .

Another doctor-publication, *Medical Economics*, recently carried an interesting editorial entitled "Is Your Prosperity Showing?" The editorial points out that in 1935, when average private practitioners were making about $3,792 a year, they didn't have to worry "about looking unbecomingly prosperous." However, today, with net earnings hovering around $10,000, or several times as high, "it becomes much more difficult to keep patients and neighbors from thinking" that financial gain is subordinate to serving humanity. The editorial continues:

We're talking about the doctor who, for example: Outfits his reception room with the costliest furniture and appointments . . . displays copies of *Fortune* magazine, the *Wall Street Journal* and other blue-chip publications . . . drives a light-hued Cadillac convertible . . . owns a home that could be mistaken for a country club . . . provides his wife with an oversupply of furs and jewelry . . . takes frequent and prolonged vacation trips to Florida, Europe or upper-bracket shore resorts.

This is not to suggest that the medical man shouldn't enjoy the fruits of his labors. It *is* to suggest a bit more restraint in the public demonstration of his earning power. . . . How long, we wonder, will a fringe of physicians go on strengthening the socializer's hand by unwitting displays of their current good fortune?

NEWSPAPERMEN'S SOURCES

The old familiar problem whether newspapermen may refuse to reveal the sources of their information came up again a few days ago. Leonard Lyons, the syndicated columnist of the New York *Post*, had been brought into court because of items he had printed about the case of Mrs. Ethel Rosenberg, the convicted atomic spy now waiting execution in the death house at Sing Sing (*NR*, May 21). Lyons had printed 22 items about the cases of Mrs. Rosenberg and her husband, who was also found guilty and given the same sentence. Her attorney argued that 20 of these items which could be verified had proved true, that therefore the other two must also be presumed correct, and that they could only have come from official sources. Lyons, put on the stand, refused to reveal where he got his information, on the ground that a newspaperman has the right, by general custom if not by law, to protect his sources.

This contention was denied by Judge Henry W. Goddard in the US District Court, sitting in place of Judge John C. Knox, who first heard the case and had become ill. Judge Goddard ruled that under normal circumstances, members of newspaper staffs must answer pertinent questions in court hearings. In this instance, however, he ruled that the items were not of importance.

Whether newspapermen have the right to keep their sources confidential has for many decades been a vexed question in American courts. Newspapermen, in general, claim the same right exercised by lawyers or doctors to maintain confidential relationships; the courts have in general denied these rights. Those who support the courts argue that a large amount of irresponsible and mischievous material is published by papers which seek to evade responsibility by saying it came from confidential sources. Newspapermen reply by citing many cases where they have sought to expose corruption in office and have been punished by judges who were themselves part of the corrupt ring of officials. They say that when anything false and defamatory is published, the individual attacked can always sue for libel.

Twelve states have in the past two decades enacted laws empowering newspapermen to protect their sources. They are Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Montana, New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania. These laws are not valid, however, in the federal courts, where the Rosenberg case was tried.

A bill is being introduced in both houses of Congress which would protect newspapermen throughout the country as they are now protected in the state and local courts of the 12 states named.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

MORALE AND DEATH

France has thousands of newspapers. In the city of Paris alone, 19 major dailies are published. Yet of all the newspapers in the country, only two considered reader-interest in the MacArthur "case" great enough to warrant devoting much of their precious newsprint to fairly extensive extracts from the actual testimony. These were the European edition of the New York *Herald Tribune* and *le Monde*, both of Paris.

The motives of the *Herald Tribune* are obvious; those of the *Monde*, less simple but not less compelling. The quantity of the material strengthened the newspaper's reputation of maintaining a high standard of fairness and objectivity. The nature of the material tended to strengthen doubts in some French minds about the advisability of France's going along irrevocably and the whole way with America; hence it gave support, obliquely at least, to the newspaper's policy of neutralism.

In common with other organs of neutralism, the *Monde* has been vigorously anti-MacArthur, while not being too warmly pro-Truman. When the General was dismissed, the *Monde* was almost generous toward the President in its editorial treatment of the situation. But as the hearings in Washington progressed, it lost its initial enthusiasm. The complaint was voiced that a necessary and proper assertion of civilian authority over military authority had gradually degenerated into a struggle for power among generals.

The French newspapers do not print lists of names of the men killed and wounded in the Indo-Chinese fighting. And one of the portions of General Marshall's testimony that was widely considered worthy of publication—not only in the neutralist but in the whole press—was his insistence on the primacy of the morale factor in any kind of combat, and his complaint that MacArthur's stress on casualties in Korea was hurting morale both among the men fighting there and among those likely to be called upon to fight elsewhere.

But though there is no question that an overwhelming number of Frenchmen strongly favor the limitation of the campaign in Korea and fear the extension of combat to Europe, it is not at all sure that Marshall's view of the relation between morale and casualties holds good for all the young men of France. The assumption underlying the view is the same as that which inspires American anti-neutralist propaganda in Western Europe—that neutralism implies a kind of cowardice, physical or moral or both, and that therefore the effort to get young men to risk their lives calls for a rhetoric either of moralistic faith and hope or of militaristic *gloire et grandeur.*

On the day Marshall expressed his opinion, the Paris *Herald Tribune*, which for obvious reasons is very far from neutralism, devoted almost a column of its editorial page to "A Letter from Korea" which throws some light on the state of mind of young Frenchmen who have decided to risk their lives. Whether or not the letter from a young French volunteer in Korea to his father in Paris is genuine—and there seems no doubt that it is—it certainly has been written by a Frenchman, it certainly reflects the attitude of very many young men in all of Western Europe, and the *Herald Tribune* considered it worth special attention. Here are some excerpts:

> Our last big attack was very hard on the battalion—39 dead, 45 seriously wounded and 100 slightly wounded. We belong to a generation which has become used to "young and beautiful" death. For centuries, death has been represented as an old man, wrinkled and broken, elbow to elbow with time. In our time, when you look around for the faces of the dead, they are all 20 years old. Young death is no longer an aristocracy. . . .
>
> I have seen men die. I have thought I was going to die myself. Until now I have escaped this fascination for death which is so strong in some of my best friends. I have learned to avoid this trap which makes the most healthy-minded of us seek death like an irrefutable proof of life. . . .
>
> Death is catching. . . . I thought for a long time that you had to consider it as a matter of hygiene—once you were vaccinated, you did not think about it any more. Now, I see our life like a trip by boat; you leave one shore for another. Evidently, you can sink on the way, but it is still a shore you reach, a little earlier than expected, but the destination is the same. Reaching the shore is the end of our life.
>
> I do not know who said: "The French know how to live simply and to die simply." But I realize it is true. You have not seen these little 20-year-old guys attack hill positions 20,000 kilometers from home, and then find it completely normal to come back down with an arm missing. They are great—and they deserve its being known. . . .

The occasion for the letter was the death in battle of "a little guy from Paris" who, from the start of the campaign, had been the author's gun-mate.

> He had told me his life story. No parents. He was 21, always happy. We were like brothers. Then he was killed. I would like to try to tell you what this death means to me. I cannot quite understand why it is so difficult, why a death is at the same time the only thing that is sure and the only thing that surprises. I would like to talk to you about it simply, but simplicity on the subject of death is theatrical. Besides, talk to you about what? At the most, death is the antonym of being born. The antonym of living remains to be discovered.

This is language in the tradition of Andre Malraux's famous novel *La Condition Humaine*, translated into English as *Man's Fate*. The book is about the brutal and bloody betrayal by China's Chiang Kai-shek of the Communists who helped him come to power. At the same time, a quarter of a century ago, Malraux was a Communist fellow traveler. Now he is the right hand of Gen. Charles de Gaulle, whose dream of grandeur, while in the same tradition as that of General MacArthur, goes much farther. It would be a strange fate for American policy if the rhetoric used against neutralism were to find its success in an anti-democratic *mystique.*

Paris PERCY WINNER

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THE AIRLINES' "CLOSED SHOP"

by Harry Conn

Mass air transportation, long thought to be just around the corner, may well be neatly packaged and forgotten this year.

Although the latest Civil Aeronautics Board order, rigidly restricting the flights of the non-scheduled air carriers, has been enjoined by the US District Court, the CAB is expected to appeal. Due to have been effective July 5, the order would guillotine the non-skeds and remove from the commercial aviation picture one of the last formidable forces for free competition in the air. But this order, in keeping with the role of the CAB which had long regarded itself as the protector of the routes and subsidies of the 16 certified domestic carriers and Pan American, may see some rough days before it becomes effective.

Momentarily expected is a report from Sen. John Sparkman's (D, Ala.) subcommittee of the Senate Select Small Business Committee on the plight of the irregulars. Considerable speculation has been aroused by this pending report, and the expectation is that the committee may sharply question the CAB's whole approach to air transportation as a select, nurtured industry and may ask for definite steps to preserve the irregulars. One point clear, however, is that government through aviation legislation and aviation law will continue to assert its right to regulation of the air. The question is whether such regulation must legalize a monopoly.

On a clear January day in 1822 a balloon descended on a private garden in New York State. The collection of startled neighbors who broke into the garden and damaged the plants for the two-fold purpose of satisfying their curiosity and of rescuing "the balloonist who had been hanging out of the car of the balloon in a perilous situation" placed the first American aviation case on the law books of the nation. The balloonist was found liable for trespassing.

Since that day in 1822, so many years before the Wright Brothers were successfully air-borne in a motor-powered, winged contraption at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, aviation law and aviation legislation have moved through many stages. The Transportation Act of 1920, the Air Commerce Act of 1926 and the Air Mail Act of 1934 all outgrew themselves. And in 1938 the Civil Aeronautics Act was passed by Congress.

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This Act was presented as an answer to the chaos existing in the air transportation industry: the rampant, throat-cutting competition, the bankruptcies, the fear of expansion. The Act met the needs and desires of the biggest carriers, to preserve what they had and guarantee them against losses. In fact, Henry Friendly of Pan American and Howard Westwood of American Airlines are credited in many circles with having actually written the Act. Strong proponents of the law, such as Sen. Pat McCarran of Nevada, said that it was necessary to help a struggling and infant industry just as land grants were essential to the growth of the railroads of the country.

This was the plea that Col. Edgar Gorrell of the Air Transport Association, the NAM of the industry, made in 1937 when he asked for what the *Wall Street Journal* was calling "protective legislation," saying:

> Congress must realize that the romance of losing money in the heavens is finished, that only by modernizing the legislation pertaining to this industry, granting it legislative rights such as have been granted to the railroads and the motor carriers, can the finances required for our future growth be provided.

That is precisely what they received.

The "Declaration of Policy" contained in the Act was wholesome. It clearly stated that the "encouragement and development of an air transportation system" and the "promotion of adequate, economical and efficient service by air carriers at reasonable charges, without unjust discriminations, undue discriminations or advantages, or unfair or destructive competitive practices" shall be considered in the public interest.

Having thus cleared its conscience, Congress proceeded to write a law which in practice conferred on the 16 carriers then flying the mail all the privileges and all the unfair competitive aids that could be devised. It awarded these carriers "grandfather" routes as their own personal property and wrote a mail-pay provision which resulted in such confusion that it became impossible to determine how much subsidy—as differentiated from compensatory mail pay—a particular company was receiving. Further, Section 414 of the Act specifically exempted the major airlines "from the operations of the anti-trust laws." They had their own "closed shop" written into law.

A top air-policy body, known as the Civil Aeronautics Board, was created consisting of five members appointed by the President for six-year terms, which in several instances were renewed. This board was powered with regulating an industry consisting of 16 domestic com-

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panies but completely dominated by a "big four"—American, Eastern, TWA and United—plus the octopus of international flying, Pan American. The resulting singleness of purpose and intimate relationships between the industry and the board were probably well foreseen by the authors.

Throughout the 13-year history of the board many of the members have come from the industry or have had direct financial or personal relations with it. The former board chairman, Delos Rentzel, recently sworn in as Undersecretary of Commerce for Transportation, where he has potentially dictatorial powers, was formerly employed by American Airlines and later was head of Aeronautical Radio, Inc., a corporation jointly owned and controlled by the scheduled airlines. It is generally conceded that Rentzel's board position will be filled by Donald W. Nyrop, now chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Authority. Nyrop is a former assistant general counsel of the Air Transport Association. Both Rentzel and Nyrop are considered competent men but definitely close to the industry.

Not a member, but a recognized power with the board, is James Verner, the youthful looking executive director. He is a former assistant general counsel of Chicago and Southern Airlines and at one time was associated with the Air Transport Association. With the appointment of Nyrop, there will be three board members with less than three months' experience, and Verner's presentation of the board's business becomes increasingly significant. This cannot be overlooked, particularly in light of the testimony of two of these members before the Sparkman committee to the effect that they knew nothing about air transportation but favored the new regulation, recognized as the "death knell" of the irregular operators. In many quarters, Verner is considered a "Rentzel man."

The Enforcement Division of the CAB, although short of personnel, performs a very necessary function for the board. For the last few years this division has been engaged almost exclusively in actions against non-scheduled airlines. Donald Reynolds, former chief of the Enforcement Division, is now counsel for Pan American. He became associated with Pan Am after he had removed US Overseas Airlines, a non-sked, from competition with PAA on foreign routes.

Pan American, which has long paved the way in adroit public relations and maintained the proper connections, was widely reputed to be excessively close to two of the five board members. That number is now said to have been reduced to one. The company has long indulged in the habit of transporting board members on "inspection junkets" in luxury liners. Not untypical of these was one excursion in January of 1949 when five CAB officers flew to Miami in a Boeing Stratocruiser to inspect Pan Am's Miami base. Those who were reported in numerous newspapers as having spent three days basking in the Florida sun were: Oswald Ryan, vice-chairman of the board; Warner Hord, chief of the accounting and rates division; William Cusick, CAB examiner; William Andrews, chief of the accident investigation bureau; Frank Grozier, special adviser on route matters; and Ed Slattery, CAB publicity chief. Upon being queried about the junket the CAB claimed that this was a "routine inspection."

Studies of the votes of board members, as well as their related activities, are most revealing of their close relationship with the industry. Board member Josh Lee, former Democratic Senator from Oklahoma, for example, is a strong exponent of feeder lines, the most costly type of air transportation in terms of present subsidies. He helped to vote an Oklahoma City feeder line —Central Airlines—into existence about four years ago. This became the famed 8 and 1 case, $8 in subsidy paid to the company for every $1 in business dug up. When the Central certificate was drawn up, the major stockholders were revealed to be Luther Bohannon, former political crony of Lee, and Guy Marchant, a wealthy Oklahoma oil man. Bohannon also managed former Oklahoma Sen. Elmer Thomas' unsuccessful campaign for re-election in 1950. Central's chief counsel and Washington representative during this time was James W. Batchelor, who in 1943 and 1944 had been employed as assistant to Lee at the board.

Another controversial feeder line voted into existence last year was Ozark Air Lines of St. Louis which operates in the Mississippi Valley and Great Lakes area. It is estimated that Ozark will receive about $2.5 million from the Post Office, through the CAB, this year and more than $800,000 from passenger revenues. Ozark's vice-president for legal matters is Barak T. Mattingly, a prominent St. Louis attorney who managed the Dewey campaign in the Midwest in 1944 and 1948. Acting board chairman at the time the vote was taken was Oswald Ryan, a Republican. Democrat Lee concurred. His former aide, Batchelor, was Ozark's attorney.

The inner-deals, the contacts, the "greasing the skids" that characterized the RFC investigation have long loomed as a threat in the civil-aeronautics picture also. No single publication has the resources required to investigate all the sound and unsound leads. It was hoped that the Sparkman committee would do this, but it avoided the embarrassment of reaching into too many sacred circles. It is generally agreed, however, that the prestige

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of the board is at its lowest ebb today. This was well analyzed by the conservative and sound *American Aviation* (October 2, 1950):

> Nothing destroys a government more rapidly than the acceptance of favors by personnel, no matter how trivial some of these may have seemed at the time of accepting. Once under obligation to a partisan cause, a government man's usefulness in a quasi-judicial regulatory agency is ended. Hotel bills, entertainment, "dates," legal business thrown to a "friend," trips—all of these have weakened the CAB as a regulatory agency. It is going to take courage and force to return the CAB to its proper ethical level.

But one might still ask how this can actually be avoided when the regulatory agency has been saddled with the responsibility of assuring prosperity to one segment of the industry.

Under Section 405 of the Civil Aeronautics Act the board is given a wide degree of latitude in determining the compensation and subsidy to be paid to the various certified lines for carrying the mail. Actual mail pay and subsidies are lumped together, and for some years all Congressional efforts to separate the two have come to naught. Last year over $130 million was paid out of Treasury funds for this purpose.

This means that the Postal Department is paying the cost of subsidizing the certified lines, and the CAB merely has to present the bill.

Those who support the program for separation of subsidies from mail pay—a group which includes both President Truman and the Hoover Commission—feel that the taxpayers have a basic right to know the extent to which they are supporting the certified carriers. In 1950, when board chairman O'Connell testified before a House committee on air-mail subsidies, he could not say with any degree of exactness how much of the total air-mail bill was subsidy. He estimated it to be between "30 and 50 percent."

The larger certified carriers, particularly the "big four" and Pan American, once so violently opposed to separation, now offer their approval of the idea depending on the precise bill, itself. Pan Am and TWA foreign flights are largely subsidized. The "big four" of domestic routes say they are now operating on a "compensatory" basis. What they mean is that they are receiving only a service rate for carrying the mail. The service rate has been averaging about 60 cents a ton per air mile. Last month the CAB issued a "show cause order" to these lines calling for a hearing later this month to reduce the service rate to 42 cents. The same lines now carry freight for 13 to 16 cents a ton per mile.

One of the worst aspects of the entire subsidy program is reflected in the excessive indirect costs in the carriers' budget for such expenses as administrative overhead, ticket selling, promotion, dispatching and similar activities as distinguished from the actual cost of flying and maintaining aircraft. In a Senate hearing in 1949, former board chairman James Landis estimated that indirect costs amount to 53 to 55 percent of the total budget in contrast to about 10 percent for the non-skeds.

Landis said further:

> It is the existence of subsidy as having a tendency not to make management hard about the reduction of costs [that worries me]. To me, perhaps, the great defect of the industry in that field of indirect costs is the lack of an intense cost-consciousness on the part of the industry. The existence of subsidy in this field can operate so as to deprive people of the incentive to reduce those costs.

As greatly as it displeases the certified carrier industry, the non-skeds, just before their impending liquidation from the scene, have offered final and conclusive proof that efficient and profitable air transportation can be realized. They make it painfully clear that the present system of a select, nurtured industry at the expense of mass air transportation needs wholesale reassessment.

The tendency today, however, is too often merely to blame the CAB. For example, Amos E. Heacock, president of the non-skeds' Aircoach Transport Association, has stated that the "Civil Aeronautics Board is the most formidable obstacle in the way of mass air transportation." He is speaking solely of the end result. The CAB, with all its unhealthy aspects, is a logical product of the Civil Aeronautics Act. The Act is the source of the infection.

CAB examiner William Cusick, for example, in a recent report stated that "public interest . . . encompasses the financial well-being of those carriers supported in whole or in part by funds in the Federal Treasury." The basis of this interpretation was not of his own making but, rather, derives from the pages of the Act under which he is governed. For with all the fine words in the Declaration of Policy of the Civil Aeronautics Act, public interest becomes private in the end result.

The Sparkman committee report, after 90 days of hearings and studies, will reach the public in a few days. If speculation is true and this report does call for a re-evaluation of the CAB's whole approach toward air transportation, it will be of little consequence unless the committee actively presses for action. Too often, committee reports are written, read and filed away. That course would be only too easy here in face of the power of the airlines lobby.

The Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 simply does not meet the requirements of aeronautics in 1951. It is time Congress openly acknowledges this fact and acts.

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WHAT KIND OF PEACE FOR JAPAN?

by Owen Lattimore

JAPAN is individually one of the most important countries in Asia; but no "Japan policy" for the United States can hope to be successful if it is narrowed down solely to the relations between the US and Japan. The most important problems in the future of Japan lie in her relations with the rest of Asia. American policy during the period of occupation since 1945 has been able to do little to prepare for the handling of these problems because throughout this period the virtual monopoly of American control within Japan has been offset by a steadily decreasing American ability to control the Asia with which the Japan of the future must live in symbiosis.

At the beginning of World War II Germany was the most powerful nation in Europe and Japan the most powerful nation in Asia. In the course of the war, Germany attempted to advance from the position of being relatively the strongest nation in Europe to a position of absolute control in Western and Eastern Europe. Japan similarly aimed at absolute supremacy in Asia. These aims involved not only the acquisition of new power for Germany and Japan but the destruction of the forms of power that previously existed.

During the course of the war, Germany and Japan were thoroughly successful in the destructive parts of their programs. It was in the second and ultimate aim that they had set for themselves—the creation and monopolization of a new structure of power in Europe and Asia—that they were defeated.

Before they were defeated, the Japanese were extremely successful in destroying the old structure of empire in Asia. As a result of their defeat, they left the victors of the Grand Alliance a number of alternatives on postwar policy; but as a result of the victories that preceded their defeat, they closed off completely one of the great might-have-beens of postwar policy: the possibility of restoring the old Anglo-French-Dutch structure of colonial rule and indirect economic ascendancy in Asia. Before the war, there had existed something like a balance of power between Britain and Japan as the greatest imperial powers in Asia. Since the war, this kind of classical balance of power has become as impossible in Asia as it is in Europe. Any kind of counterpoise in Asia to the power of postwar Russia and China must be built on the combination of non-Communist Asia, comparable to the hoped-for combination of Western Europe, and not on classical principles of balance of power.

There are important differences, as well as resemblances, between defeated Germany and defeated Japan. Among resemblances, there is the outstanding fact that both countries met with more than defeat in attempting to increase their power: both are weaker than when they began the attempt; neither can hope to recover more than a fraction of the power that it once had. Germany may hope to recover influence in Eastern Europe but can hardly aspire to the ascendancy that the German nation once had, even before Hitler, from Poland to Rumania. Japan can hope to become once more one of the important nations of Asia but can hardly hope to regain rule over Korea and Formosa and control over a satellite Manchuria.

In measuring the amount of importance that each of these countries may recover, the differences between them are even more significant than the resemblances. Germany has the Ruhr and other sources of industrial raw materials, in addition to the best and most modern industrial plant in Europe. It is for these reasons that Germany, in a combined Western Europe, would probably dominate the combination. Japan has the best, most modern and largest industrial plant in Asia; the best technicians and managers; the most experienced bankers, insurance directors and handlers of ocean freight and shipping—but no Ruhr. She has virtually no iron or coking coal or oil; no cotton; no wood that is good for rayon manufacture; little copper; not enough salt or other raw materials for industrial chemistry.

In a proposed combination of Western Europe, therefore, not only can Germany take a strong position in the bargaining; there is always the danger, first, that Germany may get the best of the bargain and, second, that Germany may betray the bargain. Because Germany has coal and iron, plus formidable skill in synthetic industries based on what used to be considered "substitute" materials, which have now become of primary importance, not nearly as much bargaining pressure can be put on Germany as can be put on the rest of Western Europe. Because of technical and managerial skill, the Germans will always threaten to dominate any European bargain into which they enter. And if Germany ever betrays a Western European combination, the betrayal will involve not only a defection in policy but the withdrawal from the rest of Europe of essential raw mate-

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Owen Lattimore, professor of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University, has written widely on the problems of American foreign policy. This article is taken from his introduction to "Failure in Japan," by Robert B. Textor, published this week by the John Day Company.

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rials, industrial plant and technical and managerial skill.

The Japanese are not so strongly placed. Because they do not control raw materials of their own, they must bargain at a disadvantage with either America or Asia for the supply of raw materials—*unless they play Asia and America against each other.* The point to be made first is that Japan used to get her essential raw materials more from Asia than from America. In her prewar commercial rivalry with other industrialized countries Japan relied mainly on iron ore and coking coal from China; cotton that could be got entirely from Asia when necessary; oil that could also be entirely supplied by Asia, if necessary; and salt and other materials for the chemical industry for which Asia was also the main supplier. The sources of supply in Asia, however, are no longer under Japanese control. With iron ore and coal from China, Japan could formerly decide whether or not to build battleships and tanks. In postwar bargaining, the decision would rest with China whether to let Japan make steel for armaments or to tie the supply of iron ore and coal to contracts binding Japan to supply China with an equivalent amount of steel in the form of production machinery, tractors and so forth, leaving Japan no margin for armaments.

Raw materials from China and the rest of Asia can be sold to Japan at prices which make it possible for Asia to buy back from Japan the goods made from the raw materials. American raw materials cannot be sold to the Japanese at the same prices. The postwar economic relationship between Japan and the United States has been one of dream-like unreality. In supplying Japan with such raw materials as coal, iron and cotton, the United States—the most advanced industrial nation in the world—has played the part traditionally assigned to undeveloped, "colonial" countries. Naturally, Japan could not be supplied in this way under the conditions of a free market. The difference between the real cost of American raw materials in American currency and the prices that Japan could get for manufactured goods in the markets of Asia has, therefore, had to be covered by subsidy in one form or another, open or disguised.

Defeat drove back into Japan several million Japanese who had until then been running the empire overseas; but few of these were farmers who actually worked with their hands, on land that they had regarded as their own for generations, as in the case of so many of the displaced Germans. Their demand for employment now is, therefore, no different from the similar demands of other Japanese. They want to work and to be able to live, like other Japanese, within the framework of whatever can be developed within the home islands of Japan. There is no intense yearning to recover farms or homes either on the mainland of Asia or on islands like Formosa. As for managers and technicians who used to work outside of Japan under the Japanese flag, many of them would probably go to any country in Asia that offered them the jobs for which they are qualified and could be expected to work without disloyalty under the sovereignty of whatever country employed them.

Each major difference between Japan and Germany indicates that the bargaining power of Germany is stronger than that of Japan. Nevertheless Japan does have bargaining power and does have room in which an independent Japanese national policy can maneuver. The behavior that we may anticipate from Japan in bargaining and maneuvering can be considered under two aspects: the general aspect of what might be anticipated from any country so situated, and the particular aspect of the degree to which the Japanese may be predisposed to act in one way and not in another because of the characteristics and traditions of Japanese society.

Any country situated as Japan is today can be expected to shape its conduct more by contact with the hard facts of life than by devotion to abstract theory. The Japanese are the most advanced people in Asia, with the highest standard of education in Asia, quantitatively and qualitatively, with the most mature political experience and the best qualifications in industry and large-scale organization. They cannot be expected, even after defeat in a world war, to accept passively what amounts to an American overlordship for an indefinite period in the way in which the Indians a century ago accepted British rule, for a length of time that could not then be foreseen, after their defeat in the Indian Mutiny. The Japanese will maneuver in every way possible to recover national control of their national interests and national policy.

Because they will think in terms of national interests and national policy, the Japanese cannot be expected to admit that their choice is restricted to remaining, on the one hand, an American protectorate or becoming, on the other hand, a protectorate of China, or of a Chinese-Russian alliance. They will do everything within their power both to free themselves from American control and to avoid falling under Chinese-Russian control. But in order to win freedom from American control, they will not hesitate to negotiate with China and Russia, and in order to remain free from China and Russia they will certainly try to remain on the best possible terms with the United States.

A United States policy of standing in reserve to support the self-defense of Japan, if called upon, could be dove-tailed into a similar general policy toward the rest of non-Communist Asia and toward Western Europe. It may be that a policy of this kind will become the "containment" policy of the future.

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THE MISTER X OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

by Thomas R. Phillips

ANOTHER Mr. X makes his appearance in the current issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* in an anonymous article entitled "The Balance of Military Power." While the author is not in the armed services, it is reported that he was given every assistance in writing the article, including long discussions of the subject matter with the most responsible military and civilian authorities in the Pentagon. The result is the clearest and most authoritative exposition of our worldwide military position that has been made public. It would be a mistake, however, to say that this represents an official estimate; the author inevitably must have been forced to choose between different strategic concepts, as between the Air Force and the Navy, for example.

The author's thesis is that a precarious military balance existed from 1945 to 1949 between American atomic power and Soviet ground power. This balance was threatened in 1949 by the Soviet atomic explosion and the communization of China. Although we retain an advantage in atomic weapons of perhaps five to one, it is possible, through surprise or by laxness on our part, that our ability to retaliate could be destroyed by sabotage or by bombing our means of delivery. The only manner in which we can restore the balance which has been lost is to build a ground power in Europe which will flank the ground power of the Soviet Union. This requires not only our present alliances in Europe and their military development but also the extension of our system of alliances and base rights.

Military power depends upon a broad base of territory, raw materials, industry and population. The Soviet long-term policy is to broaden her base while avoiding war. If she obtained control of Western Europe, she would have a base adequate to seek world domination. The only protection which we have is the system of alliances by which we retain the broad base needed for military power. We have the possibility of gaining on the Soviet Union in all areas of military power except atomic striking power, but it remains to be seen how far we shall convert our possibilities into realities.

The "Mr. X of Defense" states that in October, 1949, the National Security Council undertook exhaustive studies to determine the steps necessary to counteract that imbalance of power which threatened. These studies resulted in NSC No. 68 which charted the long-time program of restoring the threatened equilibrium and of inducing Russia to abandon her outward pressures. At the same time the American radar warning net was pushed to the limit of available funds; the decision was made to develop the hydrogen bomb; increases in American military strength were charted, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization moved toward the idea of a unified armed force under a single command.

Under the impact of the war in Korea, most, but not all, of the projects in NSC No. 68 were authorized. Simultaneously the United States started increasing her strength. Last November the seven divisions in Korea represented roughly two-thirds of the United States ground strength; today, one-third. There was but a single assembly line to manufacture B-36 bombers. Assembly lines for planes, tanks, guns and radar have been multiplied and dispersed. While we never did have an Achilles heel, an enemy now would have to strike many more targets than in 1950.

The author estimates that the United States has between 750 and 1,000 atomic bombs while he credits the Soviet Union with having up to 200. But atomic power depends not only upon bombs, but also upon the ability to deliver them on enemy targets and upon the effectiveness of defense.

The United States has a substantial lead in bombers. The Soviet TU-4, a copy of our B-29, has a range of about 4,000 miles and thus can only fly no-return trips to the United States except to the Pacific Northwest. The Soviet, according to the new "Mr. X," is believed to have from 400 to 500 of these bombers, but others put the number as low as 200.

While the United States has an intercontinental bomber in the B-36, any major bombing effort by us must be made with medium bombers. These are: the old B-29; the B-50, which is a modernization of the B-29; and the new B-47 jet bomber. All of these require bases on the periphery of the Soviet Union which are dependent upon our alliances.

The author seems to have overlooked an important point in estimating Soviet capacity to bomb the United States. The Soviet Union would be fighting a war in Western Europe. In placing the small number of bombs which she possesses, she would be primarily interested in targets which would have an immediate effect on preventing their conquest. Such targets would not only be our B-36 bomber bases and ports in the United States,

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but also our bases overseas, British ports and bases and communications centers in Western Europe. So while we could direct our entire atomic effort against the Soviet Union, she would have to disperse her efforts against our installations on their periphery and against Great Britain and Western Europe.

Another factor which the anonymous *Atlantic* writer overlooks and which limits the Soviet capacity to bomb the United States is the small number of bombers available. Bombers would not operate singly but in fairly large groups to provide mutual protection. Probably not more than half would carry atomic bombs and probably considerably less than half. No worthwhile targets in the United States other than in the Pacific Northwest can be reached without the certain loss of such planes. Therefore, it can be anticipated that, unless the Soviet Union is willing to expend all its long-range bombers very early in war, the US will be a secondary target.

The problem of defense is likewise more difficult for the Soviet Union, and this also the author overlooks. The extent of Soviet boundaries is so great that it is impossible for the Russians to provide a defensive line of radar, fighters and anti-aircraft. In consequence they must build close-in defenses for the most important areas. Moscow, for example, is reported to be ringed by 17 airdromes with heavy radar and fighter protection. But such defenses are too costly to build everywhere.

The United States, on the other hand, can erect narrow, forward defense far in advance of her territory, as in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, Canada, Greenland, Iceland and Europe. Therefore, "Mr. X's" estimate that we could not stop more than 10 percent of the planes directed at the US seems unduly pessimistic.

"Failure on our part," states the author, "to balance out Russia's ground strength at least as fast as Russia balances out our atomic strength could be just as fatal, although less immediately so, as damage to the system of alliances. . . . The only possible way the Russians can be balanced out is by the organization of an Allied army based on a population comparable to that of the Russian bloc. . . . The controlling consideration here is that if Russia can maintain her relative superiority in ground strength while at the same time narrowing the gap in atomic striking power, the time comes when the Russian land army becomes the decisive weapon in the military balance."

It is with respect to our alliances that the MacArthur strategy of going it alone would be most disastrous. The only sure protection against the long-range possibility of the Soviet Union's attaining a stronger lease is the system of alliances which can retain for America the broader military base. Our overseas secondary air bases depend on our alliances. An alliance is a two-way bargain. If a nation believes it will be overrun in war, it will be reluctant to grant base rights; while if it believes that it can prevent an occupation it will be more willing to grant them.

Hence, the Soviet effort to sow dissension between our Allies and us. If the Soviets were able to deprive us of our system of bases, the mission of the Strategic Air Command would become unattainable. They would have obtained relative immunity from our atomic threat.

The reverse of this proposition holds the key to our security. If, while we retain our atomic superiority, we narrow the gap between the Soviet and Western ground power, the time will come when the balance of military power will shift decisively to our advantage. This points to the danger that the Soviet Union might deliberately start a war rather than risk ultimate military inferiority. At the present time it is possible for the Soviet Union to overrun Western Europe. The Russians might be willing to accept the temporary loss of their own industry in trade for gaining the industrial base of Europe.

"Mr. X" believes that the ability of the Soviet to direct her theoretical war force of 300 divisions against Western Europe has been overestimated. He doubts that more than 60 to 75 Red divisions could reach the Rhine. To this one must say: Amen. The immediate Soviet ground strength has been greatly exaggerated. Her 175 divisions are distributed from Vladivostok to Germany. It is unlikely, even, that more than 60 divisions would be available at the outset of war to start West. More would come later from mobilizable reserves, but these could be met with the West's reserves. The author believes that Eisenhower's program of defending Western Europe with 60 divisions is realistic.

In conclusion he writes:

> Of course it remains to be seen how far we will convert our possibilities into realities. Our very will is a basic factor in the military balance. . . . To keep and improve our present military position we must constantly search for, and find, new weapons and new techniques in the air, at sea and on the land. To keep and improve our military position our diplomacy must hold all the Allies we have today, and find us new ones. . . . Finally, our moral position must attract, not repel. The security of the Republic depends upon constant gains in every field of power—and in this kind of power race an ethical point can be as weighty as a new weapon.

In this summary, it is not possible to detail "Mr. X's" logical support of his thesis. It will be found most convincing when read, and it should be read in full. The author, the Defense Department and the *Atlantic Monthly* have collaborated in the highest type of public information.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Acheson, Political Ingenue*

DEAN ACHESON has had a distinguished public career. When he was Undersecretary of the Treasury, he resigned because he could not accept President Roosevelt's gold policy. This is what an honorable subordinate should do—resign when he cannot agree with a decision on policy (General MacArthur please take note). Besides being an upright public servant, Mr. Acheson has been a patriotic citizen. After being recalled to the public service by President Roosevelt, he filled, with great credit, the offices of Assistant and Undersecretary of State. His appointment as Secretary of State by President Truman was generally acclaimed. Many who have come to think that Secretary Acheson, loyal and patriotic citizen though he may be, should resign for the good of the nation, accepted his appointment as the best that could have been made and acclaimed it as such.

Mr. Acheson's failure as Secretary of State has not been a failure in his devotion to his country. His high principles have not become bankrupt. His failure, it seems to me, has been an inability to understand people or to be understood by them. To put it another way, Mr. Acheson has lacked political sagacity to the degree that he is not qualified to hold such an office as that of Secretary of State. This default might have been corrected, or at least modified, if he had selected as advisers people who had an instinct for and a knowledge of politics. He is like the automobile driver whose mind is so absorbed in the mechanics of his job that he is blind to all other perceptions until he finds himself in an unexpected and unnecessary collision with a telegraph pole.

This is no time to have a political ingenue as Secretary of State. Mr. Acheson's inability to find his way confidently among the conflicting, and ofttimes obscure, political facts of the day requires no further proof than his recent statement at a press conference to the effect that he had no intention to resign; that he would continue to be our beleaguered and bewildered Secretary of State until President Truman asked for his resignation. This was an unfortunate stance to take. It was all the more unfair because President Truman has stood by him so stanchly. Mr. Acheson's resignation is solely his own responsibility.

When he was Undersecretary of the Treasury, Mr. Acheson resigned as a matter of principle. Apparently he does not even dimly sense the fact that today there are two reasons based on principle why he should resign irrevocably. Does he not realize, as do many of his friends and associates, that for a long time he has been a prisoner of those reckless and obscurantist elements that would involve us in a deadly world war for the sake of a personal or political advantage? Does he not sense the dubiety that exists today as to world peace because of the game of blind man's buff that is being played in the State Department and the irresponsible vocal outbursts from it by policy makers in international affairs, to say nothing of abrupt reversals of policies supposed to be unalterable? If he is not aware of any of these things, he must at least be aware that, for whatever reason, the people lack confidence in him as a leader in international affairs. He must know that, if they continue to follow him, it is with shaking knees and because they have not been given a leader in whose boldness and direction they find the courage that inspires faith.

Surely Mr. Acheson does not have to be told that, despite their clamorous demands for his head, the Republicans greatly wish him to continue in the State Department to serve as a campaign issue next year. They insist that President Truman dismiss him, while praying secretly that he will do no such thing. And the obverse of this situation was apparent two weeks ago in Denver. There the Democratic leaders, as represented by their National Committee, adopted a resounding resolution in support of Secretary Acheson and his policies, while also secretly praying that Mr. Acheson would be astute enough to realize that this gave him interference behind which he could gracefully resign an office, the administration of which has detracted from the stature that he had already attained as a public servant.

How could Dean Rusk have made the muddle-headed speech about China that he made in New York recently if he had not thought that he was expressing State Department sentiment? Our policies as to Formosa and Chiang Kai-shek have been as coherent as the mutterings of a man so deep in his cups that he cannot think clearly. If the State Department has any firm Korean policy, the country is not aware of it. We condemn to death brutal German war criminals and then meekly pardon them. The State Department loves freedom and hates tyranny while arraying in sheep's clothing the tyrants Franco and Salazar. Characteristically, we again find ourselves stripped to "too little, too late," with respect to Iran and Great Britain. It may be too late to do what we might have done a year ago—to bring together England and Iran on a mutually acceptable compromise of their differences. Mr. Acheson's resignation is also too late but the country would be grateful for it.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE LANDSCAPE OF NIHILIA

by Robert Payne

MAN'S UNHAPPINESS, said Descartes, is due to his having first been a child. He might have added that the wanton children have had it all their own way, and they are still trampling down sandcastles. In the modern world the wanton, childish urge to destroy seems to have come to stay. Cursed by the spectacle of so much physical destruction, we guess at corresponding spiritual upheavals; but there are no useful maps of the spirit, and we can see only dimly in that landscape of methodical, purposeless destruction where the dictators rage.

THE AGE OF TERROR, by Leslie Paul (Beacon; $3).

Nevertheless a host of mapmakers have been at work and some creditable, though sketchy, maps are in existence. There is the famous *Revolutionary Catechism* drawn up by Sergei Nechayev, which owed an unacknowledged debt to Chernyshevsky's chaotic little book, *What Is to Be Done?* There is Dostoevsky's *The Possessed*, where the authentic voices of the destroyers were heard perhaps for the first time. In half a dozen stories by Tolstoy we meet the monsters who inhabit the place. More recently there have been studies based on the work of the original Russian mapmakers: the passages of Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* which are admittedly indebted to Tolstoy's story, "The Death of Ivan Ilyitch," and those passages of Sartre's *L'Etre et le Néant* which derive directly from Dostoevsky. There is Rauschning's *The Voice of Destruction*; there are a host of others. What is remarkable about these studies is that they never show us the landscape as a whole, and gradually, as we delve further, we become aware of important omissions; the tracks are covered up; not everything is revealed. Worse still, they are never lucid when lucidity becomes most necessary, and without exception they are tempted to speak in the language of the destroyers against the destroyers, or they find such difficulty in speaking at all that they are almost unintelligible.

In The Age of Terror Leslie Paul grapples with the monstrous landscape as best he can. He is aware of the hazards of the game, and takes a circuitous route—the first half of the book is concerned with a geographical study of Europe and a history of the rise of the nation-states. Though these chapters are mostly irrelevant, it is clear that they have a purpose: he is warming up, preparing positions, gathering forces for a frontal assault. Unfortunately, when the assault finally takes place (in the last third of the book) neither his prepared positions nor his weapons are sufficiently powerful for the purposes he has in mind. Yet he succeeds in making a reconnaissance, even if sometimes he grows incoherent as he discusses what he has seen.

The chief value of his explorations lies in his sense of history and his real interest in the enemies of nihilism, the very rare people who are determined that the destroyers should destroy themselves before they destroy the rest. He relates the story of the Scholls, those two heroic and desperate students, brother and sister, who on February 18, 1943, scattered their leaflets down the staircase well of the University of Munich and were executed for their audacity. These leaflets, romantically called "Leaves of the White Rose," are not perhaps important in themselves, but they lead to important conclusions. "In these documents," says Paul, "something more is to be discovered than anger against Hitler. There is also stupefaction, the stupefaction of those who suddenly wake up from a deep sleep to discover themselves in the midst of an appalling disaster, a fire, or an earthquake, or a shipwreck." But what Hegel would have called "the category of stupefaction" is still unexplored.

When Paul discusses German nihilism he is on familiar ground; it is not so certain that he understands Russian Communism. He says at one point, "Since all responsible posts in the [Russian] government and industry are filled by Communists, it is *especially* against the members of the party that the terror is directed." (My italics.) This is simply not true. The terror is chiefly directed against the non-Communist majority and especially against active dissidents — kulaks, students, professional people. There is no evidence to show more than a sprinkling of Communists in the Siberian prison camps. Elsewhere he says: "It is a profound human illusion that power of any kind is to be trusted. It is in a sense less to be trusted when it springs from apparently legitimate causes than when it does not." What would he have us do? We cannot escape from some form of authority, and it is surely better that it should be legitimate. In his detestation of all forms of power, he opens the way to anarchy. This is a trap which lies before nearly everyone who concerns himself with destructive nihilism—the temptation to find excuses for the enemy, because if there are no excuses, then the enemy remains incredible. *Credo quia absurdum.* The enemy *is* incredible; it is still necessary to fight against him.

But if Paul sometimes makes *ex cathedra* statements which cannot be substantiated, he is remarkably resourceful in his quotations. He quotes, surprisingly, from Lenin: "In matters of culture, haste and sweeping measures are the worst possible things." One would like to think that Stalin, "the driver of the locomotive of history," had read this truism. Paul also quotes at length from Bukharin's famous confession. "Why

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should I go on living?" Bukharin asked. "If I live I shall be isolated from everybody, an enemy of the people, in an inhuman position, completely isolated from everything that constitutes the essence of life." Paul comments: "It is the last refinement of terror that the victim is forced to hymn paeans to his executioner." It is possible, of course, that this is not the last refinement at all; it may be the first. Sartre has observed that the function of the executioner has always been to demand these hymns, and he wants nothing else. Bukharin's confession raises important questions. Perhaps it is in the twofold repetition of the cry, "I am isolated," that we come closest to the explanation of the nihilism of our time; it may be that the isolation of the human personality in an industrial economy is a sufficient explanation of the terror.

It may be; but we do not know. We simply do not know why the Himmlers and the Berias act as they do, nor why the hordes of little terrorists find satisfaction in terror. Paul has done his best to find out. He has accumulated a number of statements by the terrorists and their enemies, arranged them with reasonable care and provided a commentary. He tracks down clues which lead him to discussions on the power of the medieval Church, to nineteenth-century liberalism, to the German youth movements after the First World War, to John Stuart Mill's rationalism and to the economic perplexities of Europe; all, he thinks, have had their part to play. He sees the modern terror as the end product of forces which have long existed in history; and though on the last page he breaks out into a desperate prayer for the revival of the Christian virtues (as though virtue were enough to destroy the enemy), he must be forgiven because he has shown himself to be an excellent mapmaker. Since violence and corruption appear to be increasing in America, and there is already a hint of local nihilism in the air, it becomes more and more necessary to acquaint ourselves with that landscape where, in the twentieth century, all paths cross.

Robert Payne, who wrote, among other books, "Forever China," "Mao Tse-tung" and "Zero: The Story of Terrorism," is head of the English Department at Alabama College.

COLD-WAR FERMENT

ALL THINGS COMMON, by Claire Huchet Bishop (Harper; $3).

THIS IS an exciting book. It is a straightforward, undoctrinaire report, by an eyewitness, of the "work communities" that are springing up in France and other West European countries. A work community is a factory, farm or some other economic enterprise owned collectively by those who work in it. They elect their own management. They hold the legal status of co-operatives. Precisely because each work community is autonomous, they vary enormously in their internal arrangements. Normally, like the Israeli kibbutz, they do not "hire" other human beings. In this they are socialists. But they are skeptical of state ownership. In this sense they are decentralist.

The "communitarians" have turned their back on the materialistic capitalism of the US, and on the materialistic communism of the USSR, because they no longer believe that human beings can lead a full or self-respecting life under either system. Like many early Christians, they have chosen to hold "all things common." They are extremely glad they made the choice.

Mrs. Bishop's detailed narrative of how these communities were born is a gripping story. Sometimes a group of young peasants merged their holdings. Sometimes a prosperous industrialist, sickened of profits from other men's labor, spent years persuading his workers to accept ownership of, and responsibility for, his plant—ownership which the workers, to save their self-respect, often insisted on paying for as soon as possible. But all "Companions" agree on one thing: the common economic enterprise is merely "the economic expression" of what they are seeking—a life worthy of a human being, and freedom. Freedom from boss and commissar alike. They often use their capital to help other groups get started.

But the Companions have not only transcended the murderous sectarianism of capitalism and Communism. They have militantly transcended the sectarianism of Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, atheism and neo-humanism. They welcome members professing any of these "isms." This saves them from the ideological insanity that now racks the human race. Like the communal villages of Israel, they may prove the Noah's Ark capable of riding out the storm of a third world war.

There are more than sixty such Work Communities in Europe, mostly in France, and the number steadily grows. Mrs. Bishop, who describes many of these in detail, is aware that groups of workers owning in common their means of production are as old as history and that those which have sprung up in the midst of capitalist society since the Industrial Revolution have generally died young. She believes that the new Work Communities are likely to endure, partly because they refuse to be "ghettoes" and insist on participating in the general struggle of the working class; partly because they are rooted in the physical and spiritual torment of the Two Wars; and partly because they are good at machinery and bookkeeping.

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The "communities" that sprang up in nineteenth-century America were minor protests against a young, confident and expanding capitalist society. The Work Communities Mrs. Bishop visited in France seem to be a facet of the vast struggle of the working class in the mid-twentieth century to free itself from a capitalist system which they consider in full retreat. They are thus fighting on the same front as the Russian Communist or the British Socialist; but they object to dictatorship and centralism, they object to awaiting the seizure of political power by the working class, and they assert by their daily lives freedom from economic exploitation and their continued love of political freedom. They are therefore not "on our side" and not on Russia's side, but the spiritual revolution they express is a great deal more positive and even explosive than the "neutralism" of which we accuse our European allies.

The Work Communities are still small in number and weak in terms of power politics, but any sensitive observer of Western Europe today will quickly spot them as part of an extraordinary ferment of which Cold-War America has remained unbelievably ignorant. Mrs. Bishop has described the Work Communities with human sympathy, with a cool head and a keen eye.

STRINGFELLOW BARR

Stringfellow Barr is president of the Foundation for World Government and the author, among other publications, of "Let's Join the Human Race."

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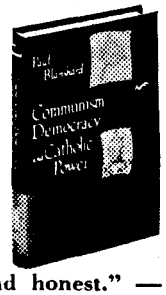

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HOW WE ANSWERED

PUBLIC OPINION: 1935-1946. Prepared by Mildred Strunk under the editorial direction of Hadley Cantril (Princeton University Press; $25).

THIS MAMMOTH VOLUME is for reference only. It contains, arranged in alphabetical order of subjects, the questions asked and the results obtained from *all* the public-opinion polls that met the following conditions: (1) they were carried out between 1935, when Gallup and Roper first began publishing their results, and 1946, in sixteen different countries, including two—Czechoslovakia and Hungary—now behind the Iron Curtain; (2) they used a national sample; and (3) they were not done for private businesses interested in assessing the national market for their products. The results of so-called "market research" are apparently secret.

An informed citizen should realize how small a "national sample" usually is—seldom more than 5,000 persons. It must be small if polling is not to be prohibitively expensive, but to be "representative" it must include the same percentages of persons in different categories—age, sex, economic status, geographical location, etc.—as exist in the whole population. The proper selection of a sample is obviously a difficult task, and it is through errors in sampling that polls have been most often inaccurate, as when election polls have differed from the elections themselves. But note that most polls have no check, like an election, to determine whether the opinions of the sample were representative.

The reader will find here the opinions of people in different countries and at different times on a great range of subjects—from the opinions of Canadians in 1943 on the causes of absenteeism in industry (most frequent answer: too many taxes) to the chief worries of West Germans in 1946 (most frequent answer: possible war with Russia). And between "absenteeism" and "worry" he will find all sorts of fascinating material. He will, for instance, discover under "happiness" that in 1939, 62 percent of Americans said that people were happier in the horse-and-buggy days than they are now, but that 69 percent would rather live now than then. One possible conclusion is that Americans believe it is better to *be* alive than to *have been* happy. He will also find much material whose interest at best can have been only temporary, as when he learns that at one time in 1946, 73 percent of Britons said they had bought some fish within the week. And he will find, if he is a sociologist like the reviewer, some very important, if ambiguous, data. Thus in 1941, 66 percent of Americans, asked which social class they belonged to out of a list of five (upper, upper middle, etc.), answered that they belonged to the middle class, but when in 1946 the word "workers" was added to the category, 51 percent said they belonged to this class and only 36 percent stuck with the middle class.

The pollsters ask many different kinds of questions. There are questions about present fact or knowledge. Example: Do you happen to be reading any book at this time? (Sixty-eight percent of an American sample in 1937 said No.) There are questions about attitudes toward specific issues, *i.e.*, the Presidential polls. And there are very general questions, such as the one on happiness. Interpretation grows more difficult as one moves from the first kind of question toward the last.

Even if we remember that this is a book of reference only, the question remains why an organization like the Rockefeller Foundation thought contributing money for its publication was worth while. Some good reasons can be given. First, the political and social historian can find here trends in public opinion on important subjects: for instance, the changing attitudes of Americans toward Lend-Lease and the entrance of the United States into World War II. Second, the pollster technician can learn what kinds of questions have produced what kinds of answers. If the public is to have any faith in polling, the pollsters must devise questions that will not, by their very wording, bias the results. Third, the practical man interested in influencing public opinion or designing information programs can still learn from this book much that may be useful to him, though the latest data

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included are four years old. For instance, German radio listeners in 1946, asked what they would most like to hear about America, gave family and economic life as by far their most frequent answers. Finally, a sufficient reason for the publication of this book may be that the Office of Public Opinion Research, which got the book out, has been overwhelmed with requests from other pollsters for information.

In short, an assessment of the accuracy and meaning of poll results is often difficult. With this reservation, the present volume contains a great deal of important data for one kind of person or another—historian, sociologist, statesman, program designer, and the pollster himself. Unfortunately what is important material from one point of view is often trivial from another, and a principle of selection seems to be so hard to find that the editors of the present volume have given up and included *everything*. Yet they will have to find a principle, for they promise further volumes and polling is still growing.

It may be interesting that the one question that has never been asked of any national sample is this: "Do you think public opinion polling is worth while?" At least I cannot find any such question in this volume. Who will poll on polling? GEORGE C. HOMANS

George C. Homans is associate professor of Sociology at Harvard University. His most recent book is "The Human Group."

ADVENTURE IN PROSE

THE DIVIDING OF TIME, by Elizabeth Sewell (Doubleday; $2.75).

ELIZABETH SEWELL, an English poet and student of poetry, has written a curious book, baroque in design and rather private in meaning. *The Dividing of Time*, like many first novels, seems to be an exploration of turbulent development viewed from a reef of comparative safety. The first division of time is three years spent in an office in London during the war—a period which, despite its drama, spelled boredom and loneliness for the author. From this layer of time another splits away and becomes a free-roaming allegory of self-discovery. At first, there are seven separate selves; later these give way to one self plagued by a sickly, parasitic shadow. The shadow goes and is replaced by a happier lover-shadow and ultimately all shadows are gone and the "I" is alone, strong and devoid of fear. Skillfully woven through these simultaneous patterns of working life and dream life are strands of childhood recollections, and the whole fabric is knotted together by symbols which act as a repeated design through the multiple lives.

Ordinarily Miss Sewell's novel might be considered an allegorical treatment of an analysis or possibly of a profound religious development, but although the novel contains some shrewd self-analysis and perceptive responses on a natural level, the emphasis falls so heavily on strange atmospheres and odd, ritualistic experiences that the human element is dimmed. One loses any emotional import and turns instead to the calmer pleasures of literary comparison—this portion is reminiscent of the lonely quests of the Arthurian legends, that section reminds one of the cool beauty and brutality of the Greek myths, and just beyond stand the impregnable towers and menacing forests of fairy tales.

In attempting to weld the forms of the allegory (with its devious paths but clear universal meanings) and the intense personal history together—seemingly a mating of incompatibles—Miss Sewell has let her book fall somewhere in between and the result is an interesting literary adventure given shape by a remote and rather bloodless human experience.

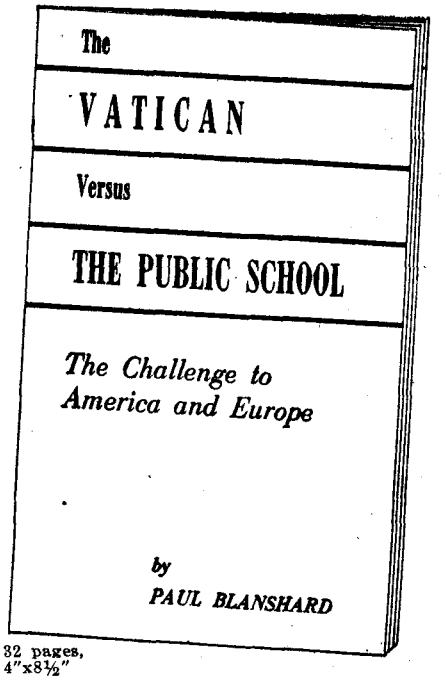
KATE SIMON

ON THE AIR

Pending with the FCC

A COUPLE of winters ago, in an article written for one of the trade magazines, Wayne Coy, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, promised that the following twelvemonth would be the FCC's "year of decision." He named a number of important issues that had been hanging fire for quite a while. Of these, except for color television, on which the Supreme Court has just spoken, most are still awaiting final disposition. But I predict that, in the *next* year, many of the items will be cleared from the agenda. One reason for expecting action is that Coy, whose present term expires June 30, has been nominated by President Truman for the full seven-year chairmanship of the FCC and there is little doubt that the Senate will confirm him.

Another reason for expecting action is the Supreme Court's decision on color.



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AS A RESULT of many requests from readers, *The Nation* has decided to reprint, in booklet form, the series of four articles by *Paul Blanshard* which appeared in recent issues, dealing with the struggle between the Vatican and public education in France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Italy. In addition to these articles, the booklet contains a 3000-word introduction and conclusion showing how the European struggle bears upon the efforts of the church to control education in America. Mr. Blanshard believes that "the action of the Roman Catholic church in opposing public education in the United States is an expression of world-wide policy, and that the Vatican has now everywhere become the foremost enemy of the public school."

Best known for his exposure of Tammany while serving as head of New York City's Department of Investigation and Accounts under Mayor LaGuardia, Paul Blanshard has had a varied career of public service. He has studied theology, is a member of the New York Bar, and was a State Department official during World War II. He is the author of "Democracy and Empire in the Caribbean" and "American Freedom and Catholic Power." The latter book became a best-seller despite a press conspiracy of silence against it, and was honored by the Religious Book Roundtable of the American Library Association as one of the fifty best religious books of 1949. His latest book, "Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power," will be published this spring.

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Last fall, the FCC ruled that CBS's method of color TV transmission was far superior to that of its major rival, Radio Corporation of America. RCA yelled murder, went before a three-judge District Court in Chicago and accused the Commission of being "capricious." The Chicago bench upheld the FCC, and RCA repeated its gripe before the Supreme Court. Now the Justices—by a vote of eight to one—have affirmed the Chicago decision, thus leaving the way open for CBS color to go into transmission immediately. But the real meaning of the decision goes far beyond color. For the Court, refusing to look into the relative merits of RCA and CBS scanning methods, held only that the responsibility for broadcast matters resides in the FCC. The Commission, thus, is placed in a strong position to attack its unfinished business.

Within the last couple of months, CBS bought control of a firm which has among its subsidiaries the makers of the Air King television set. Air King is no fly-by-night outfit; it ranks in sales volume among the top 15 makers of video receivers. Air King promises not only to begin immediate distribution of the adapter-plus-converter needed to equip standard television sets for CBS color reception, but also to put on the market very shortly a new set with adapter-plus-converter built in. All the big manufacturers—led by RCA itself—have declared a strike against the gadgetry needed for CBS color. But if Air King starts selling sets, I can picture a couple of walking delegates knocking at CBS's door for those patent licenses that are available to all—at a nominal charge which, in the long run, will net CBS $50 million or so.

But color is not frozen. RCA is ready again—for the dozenth time at least—to demonstrate a color system that threatens to knock CBS out of the market. Should that claim hold up, the FCC can alter its ruling. The main point, however—and the one that is important to the public that owns the airwaves about which these battles rage—is that the FCC is in power again.

Now the FCC can decide, finally:

¶ The G. A. Richards case. Richards was the owner of KMPC (Los Angeles), WJR (Detroit) and WGAR (Cleveland). It has been more than three years since he was brought up on the carpet, charged with ordering his KMPC newscasters to slant their copy. The charges included anti-Semitism, a Peglerian attitude toward all Roosevelts, and other manifestations of bias. In spite of Richards' recent death, the case stays on the docket.

¶ The clear-channel case. For six or seven years, the FCC has been trying to decide whether to allow a group of twenty-two 50,000-watt radio stations to retain monopoly over one-fifth of the nation's frequencies. The Commission gave that monopoly to those stations some years back. Now the giants claim squatter's rights.

¶ The television freeze. There are only 107 TV stations on the air, and no one can build a station until the Commission lifts the two-year-old freeze on new licenses. It may be that defense needs will hold down new station construction, but that's not the FCC's business.

¶ Educational television. The FCC has already proposed to assign 209 TV channels for the exclusive use of educational broadcasters. I don't think that's good enough—since most of those 209 are in the ultra-high frequencies, a portion of the spectrum still at the experimental stage. TV transmitters now use the very-high frequencies, and commercial broadcasters, even under the latest proposal, have the best and by far the greatest number of those channels. It's time educational TV was taken out of the tentative stage.

You may remember that I warned you to hurry if you wanted to buy the ABC network which Edward J. Noble, controlling stockholder, insisted he would not sell while he was drum-beating for customers. It's too late now: United Paramount Theaters and ABC have merged. Out of that deal, Noble gets something like $25 million for a network that cost him $8 million in 1943. CBS, an innocent bystander, gets something from this union that it wanted badly. Columbia has been smarting, and making less money, because it owns television stations only in New York and Los Angeles, with 45-percent control of a third outlet, in Washington. NBC-TV has five (the maximum) "owned-and-operated" video outlets. Both ABC and the movie-house chain had a Chicago TV station and, since the FCC forbids anyone to own more than one outlet in a given market, ABC-UPT will sell one of its Chicago peepshows to CBS for $6 million.

The merger, new network set-up and station transfers must be approved by the FCC.

SAUL CARSON

THEATRE: The London Fry

IN MY MIND'S EYE, London is suspended between the rugged decorum of an English castle and the genial roughness of an ordinary pub. I came here to see the theatre, which is, as the times go, very good, but my strongest impressions have come from the scenic magic of the Embankment illuminated to celebrate the Festival of Britain, from a courtroom in the Old Bailey in which the grubby prosecution of a large-scale procurer was conducted with impeccable tact, and from a modern play performed in a humble church.

It is the era of actors again in the English theatre. The new plays are routine, but they are nearly always well-acted. For the rest there is Shakespeare and Shaw. Most of the importations at the moment (aside from American musicals) are French—Jean Anouilh and André Roussin. Roussin ("The Little Hut") is a clever rascal; Anouilh ("Point of Departure") perfumes his pessimism in the manner of a bartender who would concoct potions of nectar and poison. I feel our day is too serious for pearly tears and sorrow worn as an adornment, though I cannot deny that the theatrical romancing of "Point of Departure" has a pleasant tickle.

An English play, "Waters of the Moon" might be described as Chekhov and soda: a mild and decent brew, expertly served by a cast that includes Sybil Thorndike, Edith Evans and Wendy Hiller. I shall not discuss it now because, like "Point of Departure,"

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it will probably be done in New York next season. I pause only to observe that although Edith Evans seems altogether miscast—a fact that can hardly escape the most innocent playgoer—the audience does not seem to mind because the London audience—the best theatre audience I know—has a way of accepting first and criticizing later.

Chekhov himself is represented by an all-star cast (Ralph Richardson, Celia Johnson, Margaret Leighton) in "The Three Sisters"—a production which falls so flat that the Russian master is made to seem less effective than his English imitator. But "Twelfth Night" at the Old Vic (with Roger Livesey and Peggy Ashcroft) is a model production—clear and constantly alert to the play's creative values.

The latest work by Christopher Fry is a one-act piece called "A Sleep of Prisoners" which is presented by the Religious Drama Society (in association with the Arts Council of Great Britain), a play written for production in churches. It contains some of Fry's best writing.

Four war prisoners have been locked in a church. Airplanes bearing their load of death hover over the soldiers' sleep. Each of them dreams of Biblical legends—of Cain and Abel, of David and Absalom, of Abraham and Isaac and of the fiery furnace into which Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego were cast. The play is admirably constructed so that the church background becomes an organic part of the whole; and the four boys are well characterized to merge into the Biblical figures they enact in one another's dreams. There is Peter, who accepts life almost without qualification: he is the pure, pacific, Christian soul who in the dream sequence becomes Abel and Absalom. There is David, fleshbound, activist, committed to the struggles and sins of history: he becomes Cain and the warrior king of Israel. There is the gentle widower Adams, who in the dream is both God and Man.

Fry says many good things in his play, and says them with a tenderness and humor that are rarely marred this time by his word-coquetry. The poetry is almost as much in the vision as in the verse. But Fry, though he often appears intellectually complex, is no thinker, and his play, though scenically adroit, is more of an incantation than a drama.

Fry is a man of good will, pacifist, a seeker after universal meaning, but on the last count he can manage only to sing—with endearing grace and wit—the echo of our present muddle, yearning, bewilderment. Our hearts beat sympathetically when he tells us

> Thank God our time is now when wrong
> Rises to face us everywhere.
> Never to leave us till we take
> The longest stride of soul men ever took.
> Affairs are now soul size . . .
> The enterprise
> Is exploration into God
> Where no nation's foot has ever trodden yet.

But beyond this poetic aspiration, this religion without a body, Fry can only say quite honestly, "I wish I knew where I was," to which the answer is

> I can only give you a rough idea myself
> In a sort of a universe and a bit of a fix.
> It's what they call flesh we're in.
> And a fine old dance it is.

Fry knows "I can't get out alone. Neither can you." He understands that we can come through only if we have "the patience and the love," or failing that, "the honesty." One can make no mistakes with such a philosophy. The great poet, the true dramatist embodies and engages us in conflicts, the issues of which may be considered epic mistakes. The grandeur as well as the absurdity of Don Quixote is that he does not generalize: he tilts at windmills.

Still it is a pleasure to welcome Fry into the theatre, where he brings ambition, kindness, good humor and a strong sense of comedy. There are not many playwrights who can set down such lively images as "You're chatting away like old knitting needles" or "My whole body's like a three day growth of beard" or can invent so fitting an emblem for our day as "Police on Earth!"

HAROLD CLURMAN

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